

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9371
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 01620

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO, PORG
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY: PARTS II AND III
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REF: STATE 36706 (NOTAL)
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1. SUMMARY: WHEN NAC ATTENDED BY HIGH LEVEL EXPERTS TAKES
UP PART II OF EAST-WEST STUDY ON FEBRUARY 27, PART III
WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE BROUGHT UP. THIS SHOULD PROVIDE
OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO REITERATE THE IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES
TO PART III AS WELL AS TO LEARN OF POSSIBLE FRENCH CONCERNS.
WITH US DRAFT FOR PART III ANTICIPATED AT ABOUT THE SAME
TIME AS THE FRENCH ELECTIONS (REFTEL), IT WOULD SEEM APPRO-
PRIATE TO AWAIT THE ELECTIONS BEFORE PUSHING ALLIES ON
ORGANIZATION OF AND PARTICIPATION IN PART III WORK. ON
THE OTHER HAND, HOWEVER, DEVELOPMENTS ON FEBRUARY 27 COULD
WELL MAKE THOSE QUESTIONS OF CURRENT AND IMMEDIATE IMPOR-
TANCE. FURTHERMORE, EVEN IF PART III WERE NOT DISCUSSED
AT FEBRUARY 27 NAC, IT SEEMS LIKELY SUBJECT WILL COME UP
IN SUBSEQUENT SPC MEETINGS BEFORE FRENCH ELECTIONS. THERE-
FORE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PRESENT OUR VIEWS AS EARLY
AS FEBRUARY 27. AS TO WAYS TO INTRODUCE A US DRAFT OF
PART III INTO NATO, AS REQUESTED REFTEL, SO AS TO DOWNPLAY
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US ROLE AND ELICIT GENERAL ALLIED SUPPORT, THIS MESSAGE
PRESENTS SEVERAL ALTERNATIVES. IT RECOMMENDS APPROACH
WHEREBY WE WOULD SUGGEST AT THE FEBRUARY 27 NAC OR IN THE
SPC THAT WE BELIEVE A SEPARATE PART III IS DESIRABLE, THAT
WE HOPE TO PROVIDE A CONTRIBUTION BY MID-MARCH AND THAT
WE WOULD WELCOME CONTRIBUTIONS BY OTHERS. WHEN THE CON-
TRIBUTIONS ARE SUBMITTED, THE SPC WOULD DISCUSS THEM AND

DECIDE HOW TO COMBINE THEM INTO A COMPOSITE PART III.
END SUMMARY.

2. WE WELCOME THE TIMELY GUIDANCE IN REFTEL AND OFFER
FOLLOWING COMMENTS:

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(A) WE CONCUR WITH THE GOALS SET FORTH IN REFTEL.

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(B) WE AGREE THAT OUR INTERNAL DRAFTING ON PART III SHOULD
CONCENTRATE ON US SUBSTANTIVE CONCERNS FIRST AND FRENCH
SENSITIVITIES SUBSEQUENTLY. WE DO NOT WANT TO BE IN THE
POSITION OF TRIMMING OUR SAILS TO THE FRENCH WIND BEFORE
WE HAVE EVEN HOISTED ANCHOR. IN ANY CASE, WE MAY HAVE A
BETTER LINE ON POSSIBLE FRENCH CONCERNS FOLLOWING THE
FEBRUARY 27 NAC.

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(C) WE FACE NOT ONLY THE SENSITIVE TASK OF PRODUCING A
SEPARATE PART III, OVER POSSIBLE FRENCH OBJECTIONS, BUT
ALSO THE TASK OF ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON AN UNCLASSIFIED
SUMMARY. THE SUBSTANCE OF BOTH TEXTS WILL RAISE SENSITIVE
ISSUES AND TIME MUST BE ALLOTTED NOT ONLY FOR RESOLVING
DIFFERENCES AMONG ALLIES, BUT ALSO FOR CAREFUL CONSIDERA-
TION OF THE TEXT WITHIN GOVERNMENTS. WE WELCOME, THEREFORE,
THE COMMENT IN PARA 4 REFTEL THAT THE INITIAL DRAFT OF
PART III WILL BE READY BY MID-MARCH, SINCE WORK ON THE UN-
CLASSIFIED SUMMARY SHOULD BEGIN IN EARLY APRIL IN ORDER TO
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ENSURE TIMELY COMPLETION.

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(D) WE FULLY ANTICIPATE THAT THE SUBJECT OF PART III WILL
BE TAKEN UP AT THE NAC ON FEBRUARY 27. AT SPC MEETING
FEBRUARY 14 (SEPTTEL), PORTUGAL AND NORWAY RAISED QUESTION
OF PART III AND CHAIRMAN PROPOSED THAT PART III BE TAKEN
UP ON FEBRUARY 27. THE FRENCH AGREED.

3. THE IMMEDIATE OPERATIONAL PROBLEM, AS FLAGGED IN PARA 5
REFTEL, IS THE QUESTION OF HOW TO CONVEY US VIEWS ON PART
III TO ALLIES IN A WAY THAT WILL MINIMIZE ANY IMPRESSION
THAT WE ARE GRASPING THE REINS AND TO ELICIT ALLIED SUPPORT
AND CONTRIBUTIONS. WE SUPPORT THE INTENTION EXPRESSED
REFTEL OF NOT EXCLUDING ALLIES FROM THE INITIAL PHASE OF
PART III WORK. US EFFORTS TO DATE ON PARTS I AND II HAVE
HELPED CREATE A COOPERATIVE ATMOSPHERE AND BROAD ALLIED
CONTRIBUTIONS. IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR PART III, WHICH WE
HOPE WILL BE THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE STUDY, THAT THE
FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF ALLIED PARTICIPATION BE MAINTAINED.
WE PROPOSE BELOW SEVERAL PROCEDURAL POSSIBILITIES:

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(A) CONVEY US THINKING ON PART III, INCLUDING OUR DESIRE TO

BE OF ASSISTANCE IN DRAFTING, AND SUGGEST THAT ALLIES
WISHING TO DO SO CIRCULATE COMMENTS AND SUGGESTED TEXTS ON
PART III BY A SPECIFIC DATE AS NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
ONCE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE RECEIVED, THE SPC WOULD ATTEMPT TO
PREPARE A DRAFT OF PART III ACCEPTABLE TO ALL ALLIES. SUCH
AN APPROACH WOULD PLACE US VIEWS IN THE OPEN AND ENABLE THE
US TO LOBBY FOR WHAT IT WANTS. HOWEVER, THE APPROACH COULD
RESULT IN A DIRECT CONFLICT WITH THE FRENCH EARLY ON AND
PROMPT A FEELING ON THE PART OF OTHERS THAT THE US HAD
GRABBED THE LEAD ON THE KEY PART OF THE STUDY. THESE ALLIED
CONCERNS COULD BE DAMPENED BY CIRCULATING US TEXT ON THE

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AGREED DATE RATHER THAN IN ADVANCE OF OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.

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(B) ALTERNATIVELY, WE COULD ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP A TEXT OF
PART III BY SUBMITTING DRAFTS AND COMMENTS ON PART III TO-
GETHER WITH OTHER ALLIES TO THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF, WITH-
OUT CIRCULATING THE TEXTS. THE IS WOULD THEN UNDERTAKE,
ON THE BASIS OF THESE SEMI-ANONYMOUS CONTRIBUTIONS, TO PRO-
DUCE A COMPOSITE FIRST DRAFT. THIS APPROACH WOULD AVOID A
US-FRENCH CONFRONTATION DURING THE DRAFTING STAGE. US
IDEAS WOULD BE DILUTED IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS, BUT WE
COULD ATTEMPT TO REINSERT ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS DURING SPC
DISCUSSION.

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(C) TRY TO SET UP A DRAFTING GROUP INCLUDING THE US AND A
FEW OTHER ALLIES TO PREPARE A DRAFT OF PART III. WHILE
THIS APPROACH WORKED FOR PART II, WE THINK VIRTUALLY ALL
ALLIES WILL WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN PART III FROM THE START.

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(D) THE US COULD ALSO NEGOTIATE WITH THE FRENCH DIRECTLY AND BILATERALLY ON PART III. WE WOULD NOT FAVOR SUCH AN APPROACH, EXCEPT IN EXTREMIS. WHILE GENERAL SOUNDINGS WITH THE FRENCH AND OTHERS IN ADVANCE WOULD BE USEFUL, OTHER ALLIES WOULD LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN PART III FROM THE OUT-
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SET, ARE LIKELY TO LEND GENERAL SUPPORT TO US PROPOSALS, AND WOULD FEEL LEFT OUT IF THE US WORKED OUT A PRIVATE DEAL WITH THE FRENCH IN ADVANCE.

4. WE NOTE THAT NONE OF THE ABOVE STEPS MAY WORK, IN THAT THE FRENCH MAY INSIST THAT PART II BE COMPLETED BEFORE DRAFTING ON PART III BEGINS, AND THAT AN OUTLINE FOR PART III BE AGREED AS A FIRST STEP (IN ORDER TO PROTECT THEIR POSITION THAT IMPLICATIONS BE LIMITED TO THE SECURITY FIELD). IF WE ENCOUNTER THIS ROADBLOCK, WE SHOULD TEST THE LIMITS OF FRENCH FLEXIBILITY PROMPTLY TO ESTABLISH WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED IN THE WAY OF AN IMPLICATIONS SECTION.

5. WE SUPPORT OPTION (A) IN PARA 3 WHILE OPTIMALLY IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF THE FRENCH ELECTIONS, WE NOTE THE UNCERTAINTIES THE OUTCOME MIGHT ENTAIL, THE CONSISTENCY OF FRENCH RESERVATIONS ON THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY, AND THE FACT, AS DESCRIBED ABOVE, THAT WE WILL PROBABLY NOT BE ABLE IN ANY CASE TO PUT OFF THE ISSUE UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTIONS. THUS, IN OUR VIEW, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SUGGEST IN THE FEBRUARY 27 NAC OR THE SPC SUBSEQUENTLY THAT WE BELIEVE A SEPARATE PART III IS DESIRABLE, THAT WE HOPE TO PROVIDE A CONTRIBUTION BY MID-MARCH AND THAT WE WOULD WELCOME CONTRIBUTIONS BY OTHERS. WHEN CONTRIBUTIONS ARE SUBMITTED, THE SPC WOULD DISCUSS THEM AND DECIDE HOW TO COMBINE THEM IN A COMPOSITE PART III.

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6. BEFORE TAKING SUCH A STEP, WE WOULD WANT TO INFORM THE FRENCH AND OTHER ALLIES HERE PRIVATELY, INCLUDING SVART, KILLICK AND THE CANADIANS. WE NOTE THAT SVART, IN PARTICULAR, HAS INDICATED HIS BELIEF PART II CAN BE DRAFTED IN FINAL FORM TO INCLUDE PART III IMPLICATIONS AS WELL.

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7. WE WILL PROVIDE SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT UPON RECEIPT OF WASHINGTON DRAFT OUTLINE OF PART III (PARA 6, REFTEL).
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